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Czechoslovaks, the rightful representative government, will come again into control. We are informed by those recently returned from Russia that the popular sentiment is friendly toward the United States. These are some of the factors which will aid the real friends of Russia to overcome the German intrigue and red terror in that land. It is not an easy matter where eighty per cent of the population are unorganized, illiterate and passive, to avoid the Scylla of tyranny without going head on to the Charybdis of anarchy; but Russia has had a shock from both and the desire to sail more safely between is, we are informed, increasing. Even the ignorant masses of Russia have political as they have religious idealisms. They are groping toward some form of peoples' government. The ignorant peasants are becoming socially and politically educated in the laboratory of hard experience. This education will be extended. There are already signs of reaction against the policies of terrorism and that among the laborites, who have heretofore been the main stay of the Bolsheviki. This feeling seems to be warranted by the recent reports of peasant uprising in the neighborhood of Kiev, in the six districts of Nijni-Novgorod, in Kazan now said to be in the hands of the Czech forces, in the Agambras district where White Guards are reported to be forming, and elsewhere. Indeed we are told that peasants and workers are entering Petrograd together in revolution against the Bolsheviki. As during the French Revolution, constructive legislation of an enduring sort was possible, so in the midst of terrific experiences in Russia creative work seems already to be accomplished, in the north and in the east of that unhappy land. There is an intelligent leadership there, bent upon the regeneration of Russia, upon overcoming the violations of Germany by means of a re-established constituent assembly and the re-organization of the municipal Dumas.

A number of governmental centers avowing themselves pro-ally have already appeared, one at Samara, which claims to have received approval from the Northern government under Tchaikowski with headquarters at Archangel, and from the provisional government of Siberia with headquarters at Omsk. At the present writing there is a Pan-Russian conference sitting at Ufa, working to re-establish the constituent assembly and to set up a really representative government such as was contemplated when the republic was proclaimed September 14, 1917. It now appears from the Ufa conference that there is a measure of co-operation between the provisional governments and that a sovereign authority for Russia is on the way. Five persons have been chosen to represent that sovereignty as follows: M. Tchaikowski, M. Vologodsky, head of the Western Siberian government, M. Astorf, former mayor in Mos-

cow, Lieutenant General Boldrieff, and M. Avksentieff. Political and religious liberty have not been lost in Russia. Physical hunger if nothing else will show the necessity for a political and economic readjustment, to the furtherance of which we and our associated nations are happily dedicated.

We do not know how hopeful the Russo-Japanese Economic Corporation, made up of twelve responsible Russians on the one side and the Bank of Chozen, the Oriental Development Company, and the Sino-Japanese Industrial Company on the other, with its center of operations at Harbin, will be. The announced purpose of this corporation is the commercial and industrial development of Russia. We do know that there are two main sets of forces at work in Russia, one representing terrorism and black night and the other liberty and justice. In such a conflict there can be no doubt as to the ultimate outcome. The excesses of the French radicals ending in July, 1794, defeated the very plans attempted and made the advent of a Napoleon inevitable. But above the din the voice of the people was heard. Democracy advanced. And so with Russia. There is no such coalition against Russia as was arrayed against France. Outside of Germany the only coalition there is, is bent upon helping Russia. Wild as is the present in that stricken land, justice, we believe, rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

PEACE OFFENSIVES AND LITTLE PRUSSIANS

WITH the ebbing of the Prussian military offensive, the Prussian peace offensive is renewed. Our problem is to meet it with the same strategic skill, mobility of defense, and uncompromising force and persistence with which the more tangible evidences of Prussianism have been halted and put to rout. It is a problem highly complicated by two factors. One is that the peace offensive of the present will be far more subtle and more appealing than similar offensives of the past. In fact, the definition of a peace offensive, supplied by Mr. Balfour in response to the taunts of Mr. Ponsonby in the British House of Commons, during discussion of the Prince Sixte letter, is already out of date. "The meaning of the expression 'peace offensive,'" said the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "is that propositions are made by one party who does not desire peace himself, but who does desire to divide his enemies by making proposals of peace." As will be seen, this by no means covers the whole ground. A peace offensive may assume many guises and be well on the road to conquest before any definite proposition is made. In this country, for example, we are already familiar with dramatic

press stories of papers found on German prisoners showing that there will be, or that the German Government fears that there will be, a popular revolution immediately after the declaration of peace; that Austria is defaulting; that the people are gaining power against the Kaiser, and so on. The gullible readers of a gullible press (employing this adjective in preference to any harsher), already swallowing such stuff wholesale, seem not to understand that no more seductive lure for Allied Socialists could well be devised, were the Prussian High Command engaged, as we know it must be, upon discovering and perfecting one. And this brings us to the second factor complicating our repulse of the peace offensive.

In baiting the front-line German soldier with attractive newspaper scoops, the *Oberste Heeresleitung* is by no means playing a childish game. Hook and bait are not intended merely for those military authorities who search Hans's pockets for telltale information. The truth is that Prussia depends for the full effect of such schemes principally upon the assistance of certain other, less conspicuous individuals among the people of her enemies, who may well be termed our "Little Prussians." A peace offensive of the Prussian type cannot, indeed, gain any effect at all without the fervent, though doubtless often enough "innocent," co-operation of these Little Prussians. And they are all the more useful to Prussia because they are rarely of German birth or parentage, having no connection at all with Berlin. They are usually of those who are paying heavily the costs of war on the opposing side. Their right to the title of Little Prussians is won not through any professed allegiance to the Kaiser, but through a stolid or wilful ignorance of the meaning of the war. They are frequently of the type of that fond neutral, Dr. Troelstra, of Holland, who wrote on July 4 to the British Labor leader, Mr. Henderson: "As regards the American intervention, . . . it is no doubt questionable if, without America's participation in the war, agreement between the European Powers might not have been possible;" who believes it the duty of America as the preserver of the balance against Germany to step in at the psychological moment for a peace of conciliation, and who makes the at this time astonishing observation that "behind each pressure to crush one militarism by another there lurks, consciously or unconsciously, the imperialism of impelling military forces," and that, "therefore, a peace by conciliation must be concluded." This type of Little Prussian sees war only as war; cannot understand that we must take the tares of our own military aggrandizement with the wheat of victory over Prussianism for the sake of the latter, and wait till the winnowing to separate them. He would weed out the

tares now by a peace of conciliation, regardless whether haply he root up the wheat with them.

The Little Prussians are mainly utterly sincere, imbued oftentimes with the most lively spirit of humanity, as well as with honest loathing of the practices of Prussia. The trouble is, they *do not see* the issue involved; they seem unable to perceive that mid-European nationality has got itself inextricably tangled in the ideals of the abyss, and that that nationality must be reborn before the world can tolerate it. They cry with the pathetic fervor of Lord Courtney, of Penwith, writing five days before his death to the *Manchester Guardian*: "We are so like one another. Social Democrats and the Labor party, National Liberals and Liberal Imperialists, Junkers and the unbending inheritors here of a tradition of victorious domination, are counterparts of one another." But they fail to see that nations are not mere groups of people "so like one another" who happen to live within certain borders, speak a certain tongue, and support or bend beneath a certain form of government. If we may take the liberty of reiterating a statement expressed editorially in our last (August) issue, "Nationality is but the repository of the ideals of a people." German nationality of sixty or seventy years ago represented ideals of which any people might be proud. Prussian nationality, which is the nationality today of nine-tenths and more of the German Empire, is the murderer of the old German nationality and the common foe of all idealism based on gentility and honor and justice.

The Little Prussian is making a pitiable mistake, for although British Bourbon may resemble Junker and Laborite remind us of the individual Social Democrat; though we may have in America our Zu Reventlows and our Maximilian Hardens; though taken man and man we may be "so like one another," the undeniable, stubborn fact remains that Prussian nationality is not like American nationality or British or French or Italian nationality. Nationality is but the repository of the ideals of a people. Prussian nationality differs from ours not because of any value of its own, but because the composite ideals of a people have determined it. This is a hard fact for those who know the German individual, with his kindly vestiges of a happier day still predominating in the course of casual acquaintance. It is a harder fact for one who understands how many in that benighted land accepted wholesale the Prussian ideals without a comprehension of their full implication or of how subtly they would warp mind and heart of him who accepted them. But the fact is there. It grows daily more stark and certain. By it certain other would-be facts can be judged, and cast out as spurious. "Peace by conciliation" assumes its proper ludicrous

inanity in the light of that fact. Alluring rumor of revolution to follow a hasty peace now may by it be dispelled as the thin subterfuge it is indeed. More than all, fear, such as that expressed by Arnold Bennett and other well-intentioned folk, that the "psychological moment" for a propitious peace may pass unheeded, becomes only an amusing aberration. Prussia is a master of psychology and of psychological moments. "The High Command has told me," von Hertling confided to the Main Committee of the Reichstag two months ago, "that as soon as a sincere desire for peace manifests itself on the other side, we must follow the matter up at once." How the matter will be followed up, when the Allies bite on the psychological-moment bait, was revealed a few moments later in the same speech, when the Chancellor declared that "we stand on the platform of the Brest-Litovsk peace, and will see this peace in loyal manner carried out." In other words, the matter of a general peace would be followed up in the manner of the Brest-Litovsk peace, the accustomed manner of loyalty to the Prussian ideals. Only the psychological moment is needed. Every rumor the Allies will swallow, every eloquent plea to "fellow-Socialists" that can be put forth (if possible by a sufficiently befooled and therefore sincere German); every brow-beating from *Die Zukunft* which the Prussian military machine negligently allows itself to endure; every new and old device to make the people outside the iron ring forget that a greater issue is at stake than boundaries or concessions; that deeds have been done which cannot be undone, and by a power with which it is impossible for an honorable nation to make peace honorably—all this is *matériel* for the peace offensive.

There is, however, nothing to fear in this peace offensive from Germany, despite the Little Prussian in our midst. We need only fear that quality in ourselves which may tempt us to believe in this sort of peace movement, which tempts us to join the ranks of the Little Prussians, whether out of fear, sentimentality, or ignorance. To render this offensive futile we have only to examine it pitilessly. It is manufactured in the darkness into which it is the necessity and the duty of the men and women of a brighter day to pour light. It cannot retain itself intact in the glare of honest analysis. It can only attempt fruitlessly to suffuse that glare. Prussianism cannot conquer us unless it first can mesmerize us. Not until we accept Prussian nationality, Prussian ideals, can we be beaten. It is on that ground, in each of us as in all of us together, that the great battle of this war is fought. On that ground the peace offensive is met and dispelled and the last mainstay of Prussianism collapses.

THE SOLEMN PURPOSE OF AMERICA

President Wilson's Draft Proclamation, August 31, 1918

FIFTEEN months ago the men of the country from 21 to 31 years of age registered. Three months ago, and again this month, those who just reached the age of 21 were added. It now remains to include all men between the ages of 18 and 45.

This is not a new policy. A century and a quarter ago it was deliberately ordained by those who were then responsible for the safety and defense of the nation that the duty of military service should rest upon all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45. We now accept and fulfill the obligation which they established, an obligation expressed in our national statutes from that time until now. We solemnly purpose a decisive victory of arms, and deliberately to devote the larger part of the military man-power of the nation to the accomplishment of that purpose.

The younger men have from the first been ready to go. They have furnished voluntary enlistments out of all proportion to their numbers. Our military authorities regard them as having the highest combatant qualities. Their youthful enthusiasm, their virile eagerness, their gallant spirit of daring, make them the admiration of all who see them in action. They covet not only the distinction of serving in this great war, but also the inspiring memories which hundreds of thousands of them will cherish through the years to come, of a great day and a great service for their country and for mankind.

By the men of the older group now called on the opportunity now opened to them will be accepted with the calm resolution of those who realize to the full the deep and solemn significance of what they do. Having made a place for themselves in their respective communities, having assumed at home the graver responsibilities of life in many spheres, looking back upon honorable records in civil and industrial life, they will realize as perhaps no others could, how entirely their own fortunes and the fortunes of all whom they love are put at stake in this war for right, and will know that the very records they have made render this new duty the commanding duty of their lives. They know how surely this is the nation's war, how imperatively it demands the mobilization and massing of all our resources of every kind. They will regard this call as the supreme call of their day, and will answer it accordingly.

Only a portion of those who register will be called upon to bear arms. Those who are not physically fit will be excused; those exempted by alien allegiance; those who should not be relieved of their present responsibilities; above all, those who cannot be spared from the civil and industrial tasks at home upon which the success of our armies depends as much as upon the fighting at the front. But all must be registered, in order that the selection for military service may be made intelligently and with full information.

This will be our final demonstration of loyalty, democracy, and the will to win, our solemn notice to all the world that we stand absolutely together in a common